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Le juif errant d'aujourd'hui: étude sur l'émigration des Israélites de l'Europe orientale aux États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord. Par L. Hersch. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1913. Pp. 331. 6 fr.

The study by Dr. Hersch is a valuable and original contribution to the literature on immigration to the United States. By a masterful analysis of the annual reports of the United States Bureau of Immigration, compared with available statistics from Russian, Austrian, Hungarian, Roumanian, and other official and unofficial sources, the author has traced with scientific accuracy the causes of the great exodus of the Jews from Russia, Austria, and Roumania, and the characteristics of the population groups drawn into the movement.

It is customary to range the Jews among the "immigrants from southern and eastern Europe." Notwithstanding the widespread prejudice of American writers against these immigrants, students of immigration statistics could not help noting the many striking differences between the Jewish and other immigrants from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. Dr. Hersch has made a special study of these differences and has reached the conclusion that the Jewish immigrants from Russia and Austria closely resemble in their characteristics the type of immigrant from northern and western Europe.

United States immigration statistics contain no classification by race prior to 1899. But the statistics for the twelve-year period, 1899–1910, comprising as they do more than a million Jewish immigrants and relating to the period of the greatest migration movement in the history of the world, may doubtless be accepted as representative of the general character of Jewish immigration.

The Jews, next to the Irish, are the most permanent element of the present-day immigration, exceeding in this respect all other races. The available statistics of returning immigrants do not go farther back than 1908. The year 1908 was affected by an industrial crisis; 1909 was an average year, and 1910 witnessed a great increase of immigration. The average ratio of returning to incoming immigrants for those three years among the Jews was 8 per cent and among the Irish 7 per cent, whereas among the other races this ratio varied as follows (p. 59):

| OLD IMMIGRATION   | New Immigration |             |          |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------|
| I                 | Per cent        |             | Per cent |
| Scotch            | 9               | Finns       | . 18     |
| English and Welsh | 12              | Lithuanians | . 14     |
| Dutch             | II              | Poles       | . 30     |
| Germans           | 20              | Russians    | . 41     |
| Scandinavians     | 15              | Ruthenians  | . I2     |
| Bohemians         | 11              | Magyars     |          |
|                   |                 | Roumanians  | . 27     |

These figures show a clear distinction between the Jewish immigrants and those of other races coming from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania, viz.: that while among some of the latter races the proportion of temporary immigrants is as high as one-fourth, one-third, and even two-thirds of their total number, more than nine-tenths of the Jewish immigrants come to the United States to stay.

Comparative statistics of the sex and age distribution of immigrants extend over the whole twelve-year period for which the classification by race is available. The figures demonstrate that Jewish immigration is of the family type, par excellence. The Jews and the Bohemians exhibit the highest proportion of females among all immigrant races, except the Irish, among whom the number of females exceeds that of the males, as can be seen from the following table showing proportion of women immigrants to total immigrants (p. 60):

| Per               | cent |               | Per cent |
|-------------------|------|---------------|----------|
| Jews              | 43   | Germans       | . 41     |
| Bohemians         | 43   | Dutch         | . 34     |
| English and Welsh | 38   | Scandinavians | . 38     |
| Scotch            | 36   |               |          |

Thus there are proportionately more women among the Jewish immigrants than among the principal races of the "old immigration." Among the immigrants of those races which live side by side with the Jews in eastern and southern Europe the percentage of women is much lower than among the Jewish immigrants, viz.:

|             | Per cent |            | Per cent |
|-------------|----------|------------|----------|
| Poles       | . 31     | Ruthenians | . 26     |
| Lithuanians | . 29     | Magyars    | . 28     |
| Russians    | . тс     | Roumanians | 0        |

The Jewish immigrants, furthermore, bring over with them more children, in proportion, than any other race. One-fourth of all Jewish immigrants are children under 14 years of age (p. 72), whereas among other races the percentages vary as follows:

| OLD IMMIGRATION   |        | New Immigration |          |
|-------------------|--------|-----------------|----------|
| Pe                | r cent |                 | Per cent |
| Dutch             | 21     | Finns           | 15       |
| Germans           | 17     | Magyars         | . 9      |
| Bohemians         | 20     | Poles           | 9        |
| English and Welsh | 15     | Lithuanians     | . 8      |
| Scotch            | 15     | Russians        | . 7      |
| Irish             | 5      | Ruthenians      | . 4      |
| Scandinavians     | 9      | Roumanians      | . 2      |

Another index of the comparative prevalence of the family type among the immigrants of various races is furnished by the ratio of married women to married men. Of course, the female immigrants for a given year include wives going to join their husbands who preceded them, while the married men include those who have left their families behind. Nevertheless the prevailing type of immigrants among the several races is clearly reflected in the varying ratio of married women to married men. Disregarding the very small number of the French immigrants, most of whom are Canadians, we find the Jews at the head of the list, their number of married women being 80 per cent of the number of married men, while other races follow as shown below (p. 84):

| OLD IMMIGRATION   |          | New Immigration |          |
|-------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
|                   | Per cent |                 | Per cent |
| English and Welsh | 79       | Finns           | . 37     |
| Irish             | 70       | Lithuanians     | . 38     |
| Scotch            | 67       | Poles           | . 24     |
| Dutch             | 69       | Russians        | . 14     |
| Germans           | 65       | Ruthenians      | . 13     |
| Scandinavians     | 52       | Magyars         | . 33     |
| Bohemians         | 63       | Roumanians      | . 10     |

The prevalence of the family type among the Jewish immigrants finds expression in the relative numbers of breadwinners and dependents among them: according to the proportion of dependents (described in the annual reports of the commissioner general of immigration as "persons without occupation, mostly women and children"), the Jewish immigrants stood at the head of all races, with dependents numbering 45 per cent of the total number of immigrants (p. 102). Other races exhibited the following percentages:

| OLD IMMIGRATION   |         | New Immigration |          |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------|----------|
| P                 | er cent |                 | Per cent |
| Dutch             | 43      | Finns           | . 19     |
| Germans           | 39      | Magyars         | . 23     |
| English and Welsh | 38      | Poles           | . 21     |
| Scotch            | 35      | Lithuanians     | . 19     |
| Irish             | 14      | Russians        | . 16     |
| Scandinavians     | 19      | Ruthenians      | . 13     |
| Bohemians         | 40      | Roumanians      | . 9      |

Coming to the occupational classification of the Jewish immigrants we find among them a higher proportion of skilled mechanics than among any other race, viz.: two-thirds (67 per cent) of all breadwinners, as against 58 per cent among the Scotch, 49 per cent among the English,

and one-third among the Germans (p. 31). The majority of gentile immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, on the contrary, are unskilled laborers.

Having described the character of the Jewish immigration, the author proceeds to analyze its causes. The persecution of the Jews in Russia is clearly reflected in the comparative statistics of Jewish and gentile immigration to the United States from Russia and Austria-Hungary. The proportion of Jews among the immigrants from the Jewish "pale of settlement" in the Russian Empire is four times as high as their proportion to the total population of the same section (p. 42). The author thus summarizes the results of his statistical analysis:

(1) The ratio of Jewish emigration nowhere attains such an abnormal height as in Russia. (2) It is still high enough in Austria, but in that country it is 45 per cent lower than in Russia and presents nothing truly exceptional. (3) In Hungary and the Balkan States, except Roumania, the rate of emigration is materially lower among the Jews than among the surrounding population. [p. 55.]

On the other hand, the ratio of returning to incoming immigrants among the Russian Jews is much lower than among the Austrian Jews with the result that the rate of net emigration of the Russian Jews is twice as high as that of the Austrian Jews (p. 62).

The annual fluctuations of the figures of Jewish immigration from Russia point in the same direction. In the year ended June 30, 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War, the proportion of males among the Jewish immigrants rose to 63 per cent, the average for the period 1899-1910 being 57 per cent. It is a well-known fact that many Jews who were enrolled in the reserve army left Russia in order to escape active service in the war. During the next fiscal year, 1908, which was marked by the massacre of the Jews, after the revolutionary October days of 1905, the number of male immigrants slightly declined, while the number of female immigrants increased by more than one-half, the proportion of female immigrants to total immigrants rising in one year from 37 to 48. "The Jewish immigrant, in those dark hours, was afraid to leave his wife, his children, his mother, and his sisters exposed to the danger of death and dishonor" (p. 69). The percentage of children for the same reasons reached its maximum in 1906, viz., 28.5, while the percentage for the preceding year was only 22, and the average for the twelve-year period, 25 (p. 74). The proportion of breadwinners during the Japanese war (fiscal years 1904 and 1905) rose to 64 per cent, while the average for the twelve-year period was only 55 per cent. On the other hand, while the number of breadwinners declined from 83,000 in 1905 to 77,000 in 1908, the number of dependents rose from 47,000 to 77,000, their proportion increasing from 36 per cent to 55 per cent (p. 105). This was the direct effect of the massacres of 1905.

Another effect of political conditions in Russia is seen in the fact that the ratio of professional people to all breadwinners is much higher among Jewish immigrants than among other immigrants from the same countries; it is six times as high among the Jews as among the Poles and Roumanians, and fifteen times as high as among the Lithuanians (p. 111). The proportion of professional persons among the Jewish immigrants is the same as among the Irish, notwithstanding the fact that the former are handicapped in most cases by ignorance of the English language. But they are driven to emigration by legal disabilities curtailing their opportunities in their native countries. It is also true that the repressive measures directed by the Russian government against strikes and labor organizations during the first decade of the present century have driven many Jewish mechanics to emigrate to the United States.

Along with political and religious causes, there are also deep-seated economic causes which account for the modern emigration movement among the Jews. It is generally thought that the Jew is not a farmer. In a sense this is true, very few Jews deriving their livelihood from agriculture. It is a fact, however, that until a very recent date nearly every Iewish family in the small towns raised its own vegetables and poultry, and kept a cow or a goat which supplied the household with milk, butter, and cheese. The growth of small towns into cities put an end to the rule of natural economy and forced the Jewish mechanic or trader to rely solely upon his money earnings. Here, however, the Jew was confronted with numerous legal restrictions. A large proportion of the Russian Jews in former times were engaged as middlemen between the peasants and the general consuming public. The laws of 1882 which drove the Jews from the rural settlements curtailed their activities as middlemen. impoverishment of the Russian peasantry during the past fifty years contributed to the same result; when the peasant has little to sell and his purchasing power is reduced to the minimum of subsistence, the Jewish tradesmen in the small towns find no customers. The decline of trade in the small Jewish towns has driven their inhabitants to the larger cities. The Jews being restricted in the choice of their domicile to one section of the empire, the point of saturation was reached at length and they were forced to seek relief in emigration to the United States.

The development of the factory system has displaced the Jewish

craftsmen in certain industries, notably in Poland. The skilled Jewish mechanics were displaced by unskilled Polish peasants. Industrial competition has developed into race antagonism: Polish operatives resist the admission of Jewish workers to the factories. Again emigration offers the only relief to the Jewish mechanic displaced by the machine.

The economic causes of Jewish immigration determine, according to the author, not only its sex and age composition, but also the proportion of returning to incoming immigrants: the bulk of the gentile immigrants from southern and eastern Europe being peasants, many of them naturally gravitate to their homesteads; emigration to the United States is with them only a means to raise some money for the improvement of their home farms. Regarding their sojourn in the United States as merely a temporary absence from home, they naturally leave their families at home. The Jewish emigrant, on the contrary, being a wage-earner or a tradesman, carries his earning capacity with him and can have no object in returning to his home country—hence the more permanent character of Jewish immigration.

While it cannot be denied that the immigration of Russian Jews, like that of other races, is the product of economic factors, it seems that Dr. Hersch insufficiently emphasizes the political aspect of these factors. It is a fact, noted by the author himself, that in recent years the migration of Russian peasants from European Russia to the vacant government lands in Siberia has reached nearly a million per year. These new settlements would offer an ample field for the surplus of Jewish mechanics and traders now crowded together in the pale of Jewish settlement. It is the law of the empire that bars them from migrating eastward and directs their movement westward, to the United States.

The author has pursued a purely theoretical aim: to find an answer to the questions engaging the attention of European students of Jewish emigration. His work, however, has a great practical value for the American student and statesman interested in the subject of immigration. It is to be hoped that the book will be made accessible to the American public in an English translation.

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NEW YORK CITY

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America. By Frederick Shipp Deibler. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1912. Pp. 211. 40 cents.

This doctoral dissertation is an intensive study in social mechanics. "In this study an endeavor has been made to trace the history of a trade